Nation-building in Turkey and Morocco

Why do some ethnic groups live peacefully with the states that govern them, whereas others develop into serious threats to state authority? Through a comparative historical analysis, this book compares the evolution of Kurdish mobilization in Turkey with the Berber mobilization in Morocco by looking at the different nation-building strategies of the respective states. Using a variety of sources, including archival documents, interviews, and memoirs, Senem Aslan emphasizes the varying levels of willingness and the varying capabilities of the Turkish and Moroccan states to intrude into their citizens' lives. She argues that complex interactions at the ground level - where states have demanded changes in everyday behavior, such as how to dress, what language to speak, what names to give children, and more mundane practices account for the nature of emerging state-minority relations. By taking the local and informal interactions between state officials and citizens seriously, this study calls attention to the actual implementation of state policies and the often unintended consequences of these policies.

SENEM ASLAN is Assistant Professor of Politics at Bates College. She has published articles in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, and the *European Journal of Turkish Studies*.

Nation-building in Turkey and Morocco

Governing Kurdish and Berber Dissent

SENEM ASLAN Bates College, Lewiston, Maine



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107054608

© Senem Aslan 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Aslan, Senem, 1975– author.

Nation-building in Turkey and Morocco: governing Kurdish and Berber dissent / Senem Aslan, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

pages cm

Revised version of the author's dissertation–University of Washington, Seattle, 2008. Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-05460-8 (hardback)

1. Kurds-Turkey-Ethnic identity. 2. Kurds-Turkey-Government

relations. 3. Nationalism–Turkey–History–20th century. 4. Turkey–Ethnic relations. 5. Berbers–Morocco–Ethnic identity. 6. Berbers–Morocco–Government relations. 7. Nationalism–Morocco–History–20th century. 8. Morocco–Ethnic relations. 9. Nation-building–Social aspects. I. Title.

> DR435.K87A83 2014 322.4'209561–dc23 2014032036

ISBN 978-1-107-05460-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

> To my parents, Berin and Ahmet Aslan, and my husband Jason Scheideman.

Contents

| List of figures | | ix |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| Acknowledgments | | Х |
| I | Governing "areas of dissidence" | I |
| | Areas of dissidence | 5 |
| | Central arguments | 15 |
| | Organization of the book | 34 |
| 2 | Policies of "extreme makeover": state-Kurdish | |
| | relations in the early Turkish Republic | 36 |
| | State versus the local elites: state-building and | |
| | Kurdish resistance | 41 |
| | Forgotten Turkishness: assimilation policies in the | |
| | early republic | 56 |
| | Policies of Westernization in the Kurdish areas | 69 |
| | Conclusion | 78 |
| 3 | State-building and the politics of national | |
| | identity in Morocco | 80 |
| | Political actors of the post-independence period | 84 |
| | Tribes against state expansion: rebellions in | |
| | post-colonial Morocco | 92 |
| | Rural leaders as allies and the retraditionalization of | |
| | symbolic space | 97 |
| | Moroccanness and Berber identity | 106 |
| | Conclusion | 110 |

| Cambridge University Press | |
|--|--|
| 978-1-107-05460-8 - Nation-building in Turkey and Morocco: Governing | |
| Kurdish and Berber Dissent | |
| Senem Aslam | |
| Frontmatter | |
| More information | |

viii

Contents

| 4 | The making of an armed conflict: state–Kurdish | |
|-----|--|-----|
| | relations in the post-1950 period | 114 |
| | 1950–1970: state–Kurdish relations in transition | 117 |
| | 1970–1980: radicalization of Kurdish activism | 127 |
| | Post-1980: the return of the transformative state and the rise | |
| | of the PKK | 130 |
| | The fragmented state: contention over expressions of Kurdishness | 139 |
| | The controversy over naming | 143 |
| | The controversy over Kurdish music | 151 |
| | Attempts at reconciliation? State–Kurdish relations in the | |
| | post-2000 period | 156 |
| | Conclusion | 162 |
| 5 | The rise of the Amazigh movement and state cooptation in | |
| | Morocco | 164 |
| | The rise of the Amazigh activism and the initial repression | 167 |
| | The era of political openings and the discursive recognition of | |
| | Berber identity | 171 |
| | Contained contention: strategic concessions to placate the state | 178 |
| | Accommodation of Amazigh demands | 181 |
| | Conclusion | 194 |
| Co | Conclusion | |
| Bił | Bibliography | |
| Inc | Index | |

Figures

| I | A meeting in the People's House in Urfa. | 68 |
|---|--|-----|
| 2 | People's Chamber in Karakoçan. | 72 |
| 3 | An official ceremony in Urfa. | 75 |
| 4 | A brass band in Siverek. | 76 |
| 5 | A sports team going hiking in Elazığ. | 77 |
| 6 | The new building of IRCAM. | 165 |
| 7 | The symbol of the Amazigh movement on a wall in Rabat. | 175 |
| 8 | A cartoon from <i>Le Monde Amazigh</i> . | 188 |

Acknowledgments

This book has grown out of my dissertation at the University of Washington, Seattle. I have had the privilege of studying with two exceptional scholars, Joel Migdal and Reşat Kasaba, whose never-ending intellectual enthusiasm and guidance were my constant sources of motivation. This book owes its existence to their formative influence on me, their generous support, and friendship. I am indebted to both. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Mary Callahan and Ellis Goldberg, for their careful and critical readings of my dissertation drafts, for pushing me to think through some tough questions, and for providing me detailed suggestions. Ellis played a key role in teaching me the history and politics of the Middle East. Mary introduced me to the exciting literature on nation-building in Southeast Asia and inspired me with her own work.

I conducted the research for this book in Turkey, Morocco, and briefly in France, during the eighteen months from March 2006 until August 2007. I also made follow-up visits to Turkey and Morocco in the summers of the following years. My major fieldwork was funded by the Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship of the United States Institute of Peace, with additional funding from the University of Washington – the Graduate School's Chester Fritz Fellowship and the Maurice and Lois Schwartz Grant from the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization. The period I spent as a postdoctoral fellow in the Near Eastern Studies department at Princeton University was crucial in revising this study for publication. I thank Michael Cook and Şükrü Hanioğlu for giving me this opportunity. Research funds from Princeton University and Bates College allowed me to conduct additional research

Acknowledgments

in Turkey and Morocco. Bates College Faculty Development Fund also covered the publication costs of this book. I am grateful for these.

I have known so many fascinating and interesting people during the course of my field research. It was thanks to them that it was one of the most exciting periods of my life. I interviewed over fifty Kurdish and Berber activists, journalists, scholars, and state officials. A list of my interviewees can be found in the Bibliography. They were very generous in sharing their time and sources with me, including court decisions and publications of activist organizations, that would otherwise be impossible or very hard to find. In Turkey, special thanks to Ali Fuat Bucak, Nilgün Toker, Mehmet Kuyurtar, Nedret Bilici, Sezgin Tanrıkulu, Ümit Firat, and Tanil Bora, who helped me establish many contacts and shared their deep knowledge about the Kurdish question. Müslüm Akalın was very generous in sharing his large collection of photographs of Urfa and allowing me to use two of these images in this book. I would like to thank Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, who put me in contact with a number of scholars and Amazigh activists in Morocco. I am also grateful to Adria Lawrence, who helped me find an assistant in Rabat and offered me invaluable practical suggestions about doing research in Morocco. I am indebted to Ahmed Boukouss, Mounir Kejji, Meryem Demnati, and Hassan Id Belkassm in Morocco for talking to me at length about the Amazigh movement, making connections for other interviews, and for sharing their resources. I am very grateful to Mounir Kejji, who opened up his private library to me and provided me many dissertations, journals, and books on the Amazigh movement. Mustapha Qadéry helped me use the National Library in Rabat and shared his academic work. Special thanks to Younes Amehraye. He was a lifesaver in Morocco, helping me with almost every detail during the field research process, from finding an apartment to transcribing the interviews. He was not only an assistant to me but also a good friend. I was fortunate to make other wonderful friends in Morocco. Dilek Eroğlu, Emin Tüzün, Manuel Viegas, Sawssan and Najwa Belkziz, and Françoise Hradsky advised me about the intricacies of daily life in Morocco and made my stay much more enjoyable. I would like to thank Seckin Sertdemir for helping me find accommodation in Paris and keeping me company.

Over the course of my research I have used various libraries and archives. I thank in particular the staff at the Republican Archives in Yenimahalle, Ankara, whose help was crucial for this research. The administration of the National Library in Ankara allowed me to save time by going through the newspapers and periodicals myself in their closed stacks. The staff of

xi

xii

Acknowledgments

the Turkish Human Rights Association, in its Diyarbakır, Istanbul, and Ankara branches, were very generous in opening their libraries to me and allowing me to use any source that they had. In Morocco, I did research at the National Library in Rabat as well as the libraries of the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), Association Marocaine de Recherche et d'Échange Culturel (AMREC), and Centre Tarik Ibn Zyad. In Paris, where I spent a month of my fieldwork, I used the library of the Kurdish Institute of Paris along with the libraries of Sciences Po and the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO). I am grateful to the staff at all these institutions.

Over the course of the research and writing of this project I benefited enormously from conversations with colleagues and friends. During my graduate studies at the University of Washington I benefited from the discussions in the Turkish Studies Circle, organized by Resat Kasaba. I would like to thank its participants, particularly Selim Kuru, Maureen Jackson, Işık Özel, Arda İbikoğlu, Tuna Kuyucu, Ahmet Kuru, and Turan Kayaoğlu, for helping me clarify this project and its arguments. I particularly thank Ceren Belge and Nicole Watts. Throughout the fieldwork in Turkey, my path frequently crossed theirs. We worked in several libraries together, shared data, exchanged contacts, and spent long hours during dinners discussing the Kurdish issue. Having them around made the research process much more pleasurable than it would otherwise have been. I learned a lot from reading their work and benefited from their critical insights and suggestions during the research and writing process. I am grateful to Maureen Jackson, Başak Kuş, Pascal Ménoret, Henri Lauzière, and Ali Yaycıoğlu for their friendship and support. Maureen and Pascal answered my numerous questions during revisions with patience. I also thank Thomas Pierret, Ben White, Sean Yom, Yüksel Sezgin, George Gavrilis, Kristin Fabbe, Jonathan Wyrtzen, Arang Keshavarzian, Amaney Jamal, Elise Massicard, Gilles Dorronsoro, Şener Aktürk, Mohammed Daadaoui, Jon Mercer, and Elizabeth Kier for their comments, questions, and advice along the way.

I had the opportunity to present parts of this work in the Near Eastern Studies department at Princeton University; the Center for Democracy, Toleration, and Religion at Columbia University; the Council on Middle East Studies at Yale University; the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University; the Conference on the New Middle East at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; at the "Nationizing the Dynasty – Dynastizing the Nation" Conference at UCLA as well as at the conferences of the Middle East Studies Association, International Studies

Acknowledgments

Association, and American Political Science Association. I thank the participants of these conferences for asking questions that helped sharpen my ideas.

My colleagues in the Politics Department at Bates College provided invaluable assistance through their encouragement and mentorship. Jim Richter, Áslaug Ásgeirsdóttir, Danny Danforth, Francesco Duina, Stephen Engel, Caroline Shaw, and Benjamin Moodie read parts of this work and gave me insightful feedback. I thank them all. It was a pleasant surprise to meet John Hall when he came to Bates to teach a class during the short term. I am grateful to him for reading and commenting on the draft manuscript.

I thank my editor, Will Hammell, at Cambridge University Press for his interest in my work and guidance during the publication process. I am grateful to two reviewers for their careful reading of the manuscript, criticism, and suggestions. I would also like to thank Georgina Boyle for her meticulous copy-editing.

Parts of this work previously appeared in two articles and a book chapter: "Incoherent State: The Controversy over Kurdish Naming in Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (2009); "Everyday Forms of State Power and the Kurds in the Early Turkish Republic," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 1 (2011): 75–93; and "Negotiating National Identity: Berber Activism and the Moroccan State," in *The Everyday Life of the State: A State-in-Society Approach*, edited by Adam White, 176–188, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2013. I thank the *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Cambridge University Press, and the University of Washington Press for permission to reprint those parts.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my family. In Ankara the Ersoy family, in particular Günseli Ersoy, showed me immense hospitality I will never forget. In Urfa, Sevinç and Emin Aslan opened their apartment to me. Ben and Jack Scheideman deserve special thanks for their patience and giving me quiet space during the writing process. I have been very lucky to have my brother Çağrı and my sister-in-law Simge in Seattle, offering me relief whenever I needed a break. My father set an example of being a serious academic with his diligence, curiosity, and passion. My mother reminded me to always take better care of myself and have pleasure in life, before being a scholar. Even though my parents do not particularly like that I live thousands of kilometers away, they are always very encouraging. I am grateful to them for what they have taught me and for their support. To my husband Jason Scheideman, thanks is

xiii

xiv

Acknowledgments

not enough. He was always by my side at the most stressful moments, tolerating my idiosyncrasies with patience and humor. He read and edited several drafts, challenged me with his tough questions (sometimes at the expense of creating a fight), and pushed me to think more theoretically. I benefited enormously from his engagement with my work. It is to my parents and to Jason that I dedicate this book.